

## Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 STATE 231766  
ORIGIN SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 CCO-00 /026 R

DRAFTED BY ARA/USOAS:FSTARRS;ARA:FMCNEIL:MCH  
APPROVED BY ARA:VPVAKY  
ARA:SASHELTON  
USOAS:ITRAGEN  
S/S-O: LRFLEISCHER

-----113337 131459Z /45

Z 131437Z SEP 78 ZFF4  
FM SECSTATE WASHDC  
TO AMEMBASSY BRASILIA FLASH  
AMEMBASSY BRIDGETOWN FLASH  
AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES FLASH  
AMEMBASSY GUATEMALA FLASH  
AMEMBASSY LA PAZ FLASH  
AMEMBASSY PORT AU PRINCE FLASH  
AMEMBASSY PORT OF SPAIN FLASH  
AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR FLASH  
AMEMBASSY TEGUCIGALPA FLASH

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 231766

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PINT, NU

SUBJECT: NICARAGUA MFM

1. FYI: WHEN MFM CONVOCATION QUESTION COMES TO VOTE, IT  
IS ESSENTIAL THAT CONVOCATION GAIN A SUBSTANTIAL MAJORITY,  
TO SHOW CAPACITY FOR ACTION BY OAS, TO PREPARE THE GROUND  
FOR A SUCCESSFUL MFM AND TO PROVIDE ANOTHER POSSIBILITY  
FOR RESOLVING THE SITUATION AND AVOID ANY FUTURE VIOLENCE  
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AND INTERNATIONAL INCIDENTS. WE WANT YOU TO EXERT EVERY  
EFFORT TO GET A FAVORABLE VOTE FOR CONVOCATION. END FYI.

2. SEPTEMBER 12 MEETING OF PERMANENT COUNCIL ON VENEZUELAN  
PROPOSAL TO CONVENE MFM WAS DOMINATED BY NEWS OF NICARAGUAN  
STRAFING AND POSSIBLE BOMBING OF COSTA RICAN TERRITORY.  
COSTA RICAN REPRESENTATIVE INITIATED MEETING BY REPORTING

ON NICARAGUAN VIOLATION OF COSTA RICA TERRITORY, AND ASSOCIATED COSTA RICA WITH VENEZUELAN REQUEST FOR MFM CONVOCATION BASED ON THREAT TO PEACE CAUSED BY NICARAGUAN ACTIONS. NICARAGUAN AMBASSADOR SEVILLA SACASA REJOINED WITH 35 MINUTES OF PREPARED REMARKS ALTERNATING ACCUSATIONS AGAINST COSTA RICA AND ONLY INCIDENTALLY APOLOGETIC EXPLANATIONS OF HIS GOVERNMENT'S ACTIONS. DRAWING ON TREATY CITATIONS AND HISTORICAL DATA GOING BACK THIRTY YEARS TO NICARAGUAN-COSTA RICAN PACT OF FRIENDSHIP OF 1949,

SEVILLA SACASA CASTIGATED COSTA RICA AS ACCOMPLICE OF TERRORISTS BECAUSE OF ITS LACK OF VIGILANCE AND CONTROL OVER SANDINISTA AND OTHER ELEMENTS HOSTILE TO NICARAGUA, AS REQUIRED BY BILATERAL AGREEMENTS, AND PROTESTED THAT LATEST INCIDENT MUST BE SEEN AS "INVOLUNTARY BORDER CROSSING" IN HOT PURSUIT AND ,UNINTENTIONAL INVASION".

3. IN TURN, COSTA RICAN REP VEHEMENTLY DENIED COMPLICITY WITH ANY ENEMIES OF NICARAGUA, AND CITED DIFFICULTIES OF CONTROLLING BORDER AREA WITHOUT AN ARMY, BUT IN RESTRAINED WAY EXPRESSED HOPE THAT PROBLEM COULD BE DEALT WITH THROUGH DIALOGUE BETWEEN NEIGHBORS. HE RESERVED RIGHT TO INVOKE RIO TREATY AT SOME FUTURE TIME BUT MADE CLEAR HE WAS NOT ASKING FOR MEETING OF CONSULTATION UNDER RIO TREATY AT THIS TIME BUT RATHER FOR MFM UNDER CHARTER.

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4. CHAIRMAN (AMBASSADOR MCGEE) OBSERVED THAT TIME TO ASSEMBLE INFORMATION ON WHAT HAD OCCURRED WAS ALL THE MORE IMPORTANT NOW, AND ON CLEAR CONSENSUS, POSTPONED DECISION TO VOTE ON VENEZUELAN PROPOSAL WITHOUT SETTING DATE. IN MILD TERMS MEXICO ANNOUNCED SUPPORT FOR CONVOKING MFM BUT SUPPORTED POSTPONEMENT PROVIDED IT WAS FOR SHORT TIME, AND VENEZUELA AGREED TO POSTPONEMENT FOR "A VERY SHORT TIME". BOTH NOTED THAT BORDER EVENTS OF TODAY HAD PROVED SERIOUS DANGER OF EVENTS ORIGINATING IN NICARAGUA FOR PEACE OF CENTRAL AMERICA AND LATIN AMERICA IN GENERAL. MCGEE ASSURED PERM REPS THERE WOULD BE NO LONG DELAY. PLAN NOW IS TO CONVENE SPECIAL MEETING FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 15, IF POSSIBLE.

5. POSTS SHOULD APPROACH HOST GOVERNMENT AT THE HIGHEST LEVEL NECESSARY TO GET A FULL HEARING FOR OUR ARGUMENTS IN FAVOR OF VOTING FOR CONVOCATION. YOU SHOULD TELL HOST GOVERNMENTS THAT THE EVENTS OF SEPTEMBER 12 NOW MAKE CLEAR THE NECESSITY OF AN MFM. THE NICARAGUAN AIR ATTACK ON COSTA RICAN TERRITORY (WHICH MANY DELEGATES NOTING THAT SEVILLA'S 35 MINUTE SPEECH WAS OBVIOUSLY PREPARED IN ADVANCE, BELIEVE MAY HAVE BEEN DELIBERATELY TIMED TO IMPACT ON

THE OAS MEETING) DEMONSTRATES THAT THE NICARAGUAN SITUATION AND ITS SPILLOVER INTO THE REGION IS NOW CLEARLY OF URGENT NATURE AND COMMON INTEREST WITHIN THE MEANING OF ARTICLE 59 OF THE OAS CHARTER, AND INTERVENTION IS NOT AT ALL AT ISSUE. IT IS UP TO THE OAS TO ACT RESPONSIBLY. THE VERY ACT OF CONVOCATION WILL SERVE TO INTRODUCE AN ELEMENT OF RESTRAINT IN A SITUATION THAT WILL CONTINUE TO DETERIORATE WITH INEXORABLE ADVERSE EFFECTS TO THE SECURITY AND ECONOMY OF THE REGION.

6. WE ASSUME THE RESOLUTION OF CONVOCATION, WHICH WE WILL OF COURSE SUPPORT, WILL DEAL ONLY WITH THE CONCERN THAT REQUIRES A MEETING UNDER ARTICLE 59 AND NOT FORESHADOW ANY DECISIONS OF THE MFM, WHICH SHOULD EMERGE FROM  
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CONSULTATIONS AMONG THE MEMBERS IN RESPONSE TO THE DEVELOPING SITUATION. OUR VIEW AT THIS TIME IS THAT THE MFM SHOULD:

-- EXPRESS HEMISPHERIC CONCERN;

-- AUTHORIZE THE SENDING OF A FACT-FINDING MISSION, ALONG THE LINES OF THE FACT-FINDING MISSION THE PERMANENT COUNCIL SENT LAST OCTOBER TO NICARAGUA AND COSTA RICA.

-- CALL FOR ENDING INCURSIONS FROM ONE TERRITORY TO ANOTHER.

-- UNDERLINE SUPPORT FOR THE MISSION OF THE INTER-AMERICAN HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION AND A CALL FOR A PROMPT REPORT BY IT.

7. WE BELIEVE THE ABOVE COULD RECIEVE THE REQUIRED 2/3'S VOTE. WE WOULD LIKE TO ALSO ACHIEVE AN OAS CALL ON THE PARTIES TO RESTORE POLITICAL PEACE BY INTERNAL NEGOTIATIONS AND CALL FOR SUPPORTING EXTERNAL GOOD OFFICES OR MEDIATION IF THAT WOULD BE HELPFUL, SUCH AS THE CENTRAL AMERICAN INITIATIVE  
WE WOULD LIKE TO ELICIT SUPPORT FOR THIS ACTION AS WELL  
THOUGH THIS MAY BE MORE DIFFICULT TO OBTAIN.

8. PLEASE OBTAIN HOST GOVERNMENT'S REACTION TO ABOVE, ESTIMATE OF ITS WILLINGNESS TO SUPPORT THOSE OBJECTIVES AND ANY IDEAS IT MAY HAVE.

9. FOR BRASILIA: WE UNDERSTAND THE BRASILIAN VIEWPOINT AS ORIGINALLY EXPRESSED TO US, BUT WE BELIEVE THE EVENTS OF SEPTEMBER 12 SHOULD NOW OUTWEIGH THOSE CONCERNS.  
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OBVIOUSLY, IT WOULD BE UNFORTUNATE, NOT ONLY FOR NICARAGUA BUT FOR CENTRAL AMERICA IN GENERAL, IF THE BEHAVIOR OF THE SOMOZA REGIME CONTINUES TO LEAD THE SITUATION TO A POINT WHERE THE ONLY CHOICE LIES BETWEEN SOMOZA AND THE FSLN. WE ASK THAT THE BRAZILIANS VOTE FOR THE CONVOCAION EVEN IF THEY HAVE DIFFICULTY WITH SOME OF THE ELEMENTS WE ARE THINKING OF FOR AN MFM RESOLUTION. CLEARLY THE AIR ATTACK AND THE GROWING SPILL-OVER PROVIDE AMPLE REASON FOR AN MFM UNDER THE CHARTER.

10. FOR BUENOS AIRES: PLEASE MAKE THE SAME ARGUMENTS AS MADE IN BRASILIA. THE FOREIGN MINISTRY SEEMED TO SHARE SOME OF OUR CONCERN AND ASKED HOW IT COULD HELP. THE ANSWER NOW IS TO VOTE FOR CONVOCAION AND SEEK TO OFFER A "SILVER BRIDGE" TO ALL PARTIES TO RESOLVE THEIR DIFFERENCES.

11. FOR LA PAZ: DESPITE OSTRIA'S INDICATION THAT BOLIVIA WOULD VOTE FOR AN MFM IF IT CAME TO THAT, THEIR OAS DELEGATION HAS INSTRUCTIONS TO ABSTAIN, PERHAPS BECAUSE OF CONFUSION INDUCED BY THE POSTPONEMENT ISSUE. PLEASE GO TO PEREDA IF NECESSARY AND MAKE CLEAR THAT WE VIEW CONVOCAION OF UTMOST IMPORTANCE IN DETERIORATING SITUATION. MOREOVER, WE ARE CONCERNED ABOUT THE EFFECTS OF DEMOCRATIZATION PROCESSES EVERYWHERE OF POLARIZATION IN NICARAGUA.

12. FOR GUATEMALA, SAN SALVADOR AND TEGUCIGALPA: YOU MAY GO TO PRESIDENTS OR FOREIGN MINISTERS IN MAKING POINTS ABOVE. NOTE THAT SITUATION AFFECTS THE SECURITY OF THE REGION. IF THE CENTRAL AMERICANS ARE NOT SUFFICIENTLY CONCERNED ABOUT THE SITUATION TO TAKE THE LEGALLY AND POLITICALLY JUSTIFIABLE STEP OF VOTING FOR CONVOCAION OF AN MFM, THEY SHOULD NOT TAKE THAT POSITION IN THE BELIEF THAT WE WILL STEP IN TO SAVE THINGS AS MATTERS INEVITABLY DETERIORATE, A VIEW WHICH THE SALVADORAN  
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AMBASSADOR EXPRESSED TO OUR DELEGATION.

13. TRINIDAD: AMBASSADOR SHOULD EXPRESS USG'S DEEP CONCERN OVER THE THREAT TO STABILITY IN THE CENTRAL AMERICAN REGION REFLECTED IN THE NICARAGUAN INCURSION INTO COSTA RICA. USG FEELS CERTAIN THAT TRINIDAD SHARES OUR CONCERN OVER THREATS TO NATIONAL SOVEREIGNTY CAUSED

BY SUCH INCURSIONS AND WILL JOIN WITH USG IN CONVOKING  
MFM. THIS VOTE IS VERY IMPORTANT TO US AND WE HOPE TO  
HAVE THEIR SUPPORT AS A FELLOW DEMOCRACY.

14. HAITI: AMBASSADOR SHOULD EXPRESS USG'S DEEP CONCERN  
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REGION REFLECTED IN THE NICARAGUAN SITUATION AND THE  
BORDER INCIDENT. THE USG BELIEVES A FAVORABLE GOH  
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15. BRIDGETOWN (FOR GRENADA): IN DISCUSSIONS WITH  
GOVERNMENT OF GRENADA, AMBASSADOR MAY WISH TO RECALL  
THAT GRENADA WAS THE 11TH NATION TO RATIFY THE AMERICAN  
CONVENTION ON HUMAN RIGHTS, THUS BRINGING IT INTO EFFECT,  
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16. ACTION ADDRESSEES SHOULD REPLY THIS EVENING IF  
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DRAFTED BY:IO/UNA:BJSHARP  
APPROVED BY:IO/UNA:JFTEFFT  
S/S-O:RSNIDER

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC  
INFO USMISSION USUN NEW YORK IMMEDIATE 0000

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 231766

EXDIS FOR AMB. YOUNG FROM UNA

FOLLOWING REPEAT STATE 231766 ACTION BRASILIA  
BRIDGETOWN BUENOS AIRES GUATEMALA LA PAZ PORT AU PRINCE  
PORT OF SPAIN SAN SALVADOR TEGUCIGALPA 13 SEP 78.

QUOTE:C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 231766

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13. TRINIDAD: AMBASSADOR SHOULD EXPRESS USG'S DEEP CONCERN OVER THE THREAT TO STABILITY IN THE CENTRAL AMERICAN REGION REFLECTED IN THE NICARAGUAN INCURSION INTO COSTA RICA. USG FEELS CERTAIN THAT TRINIDAD SHARES OUR CONCERN OVER THREATS TO NATIONAL SOVEREIGNTY CAUSED BY SUCH INCURSIONS AND WILL JOIN WITH USG IN CONVOKING MFM. THIS VOTE IS VERY IMPORTANT TO US AND WE HOPE TO HAVE THEIR SUPPORT AS A FELLOW DEMOCRACY.

14. HAITI: AMBASSADOR SHOULD EXPRESS USG'S DEEP CONCERN OVER THE THREAT TO STABILITY IN THE CENTRAL AMERICAN REGION REFLECTED IN THE NICARAGUAN SITUATION AND THE BORDER INCIDENT. THE USG BELIEVES A FAVORABLE GOH VOTE WILL BE IMPORTANT TO ENHANCE THE IMAGE OF HAITI.

15. BRIDGETOWN (FOR GRENADA): IN DISCUSSIONS WITH GOVERNMENT OF GRENADA, AMBASSADOR MAY WISH TO RECALL THAT GRENADA WAS THE 11TH NATION TO RATIFY THE AMERICAN CONVENTION ON HUMAN RIGHTS, THUS BRINGING IT INTO EFFECT,

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## Message Attributes

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**Litigation History:**  
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**Original Handling Restrictions:** EXDIS  
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**Review Event:**  
**Review Exemptions:** n/a  
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**Review Withdrawn Fields:** n/a  
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Declassified/Released  
US Department of State  
EO Systematic Review  
20 Mar 2014  
**Markings:** Sheryl P. Walter Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 20 Mar 2014